372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by
622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to
[554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is
[888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the
627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.
437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

poreal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*Wuluga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chauga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Luratut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chauga* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts.

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves.

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the